IDENTITY CULTURE & WELL-BEING

THE NEW SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGY BULLETIN

SPECIAL ISSUE

VOL. 20, NO. 1, 2023

Name of Publication
The New School Psychology Bulletin
Vol. 20, No.1, 2023
Frequency: Semi-annually

Office of Pu blication
The New School for Social Research
80 5th Ave., 5th Floor
New York, NY 10011
Email: nspbeditors@gmail.com
Website: www.nspb.net
Print ISSN: 1931-793x
Online ISSN: 1931-7948

Focus and Scope
The articles that appear in NSPB represent the work of students from graduate psychology departments. Published work includes theory, research, literature reviews, and commentaries on the field. NSPB considers articles from all schools of thought on all topics relevant to psychology. NSPB may be particularly attractive to authors whose work does not fit the missions of l arger psychology journals, and those looking to gain exposure to academic publishing. NSPB prides itself on publishing the early work of new and budding scholars.

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Acknowledgements

This New School Psychology Bulletin (NSPB) issue marks an end and a new beginning. We acknowledge the accomplishments of the departing editorial team and welcome the new editors. We thank the many who made possible our special issue; Identity, Culture, and Well-being.

Howard Steele, our devoted faculty advisor, for introducing our special issue idea to the psychology department faculty. Daniel Gatztambide for helping us to frame our manuscripts.

Janiera Warren, for maintaining NSPB's place of pride among New School student organizations.

We respectfully acknowledge the authors whose work widens psychology's canonical scope of interest. To you, we are humbly indebted. Our editorial board who crafted careful and insightful peer reviews. They are the backbone of our journal.

With appreciation, we recognize the "Apology to People of Color for APA's Role in Promoting, Perpetuating, and Failing to Challenge Racism, Racial Discrimination, and Human Hierarchy in U.S." (American Psychological Association; APA, 2021). We thank our readers, who expect NSPB to engage critically with the status quo.

Finally, we are indebted to the Psychology Department of the New School for Social Research for providing financial support. It is with heartfelt appreciation that we say thank you.

Letter from the Editors

Dear Readers,

The idea to publish a New School Psychology Bulletin (NSPB) special issue, Identity, Culture, and Well-being came about two years ago because the editorial team sensed the potential for a seismic shift in psychology in terms of what we research and how we research. Magnified inequities and disparities during COVID-19 coupled with the increased attention to police violence against Black people in the United States slashed open a thin, taut veil of justice and revealed a myriad of injustices. Our response was to push back against the constraints of psychology's order by asking graduate psychology students to critically engage with topics such as race, racism, intersectionality, and identity, thus framing our current issue. In this issue we embrace sociocultural determinants of mental health and well-being and aim to create a space for graduate student research and writing that knocks down the preserved towers of human hierarchy to the relational impacts of human difference.

The issue combines unique areas of interest and diverse perspectives. For instance, Yaman analyzes the mental health impacts of COVID-19 on Turkish international and domestic graduate students; Guzman and Poyrazli situate Latinxs in the current U.S. anti-immigrant climate and explore its mental health implications; and Figueroa-Restrepo comments on the pervasiveness of silence in migration stories. In sum, our special issue represents NSPB's commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion.

Our special issue arrives at the end of a period filled with old and new challenges. We are optimistic that psychology will rise to meet all challenges. Welcome to NSPB volume 19 issue 2.

Sincerely,

Lorraine Afflitto,
Zishan Jiwani,
Ali Revill,
and Emily Weiss

Bad Hombres: Perceived Discrimination, Acculturation, and the Mental Health of Latinxs in a Growing Anti-Immigrant Climate. A Systematic Literature Review

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Abstract

The presidential election of 2016 brought to the forefront anti-immigrant and nativist ideas which later took the form of policies, memorandums, and laws in the U.S.. Latinxs, especially Latinx migrants from Central and South America, were most targeted by these policies. Research has begun to show that the context of acculturation and, in turn, the level of perceived discrimination might play a key role in how individuals acculturate. This systematic literature review presents findings on the impact that perceived discrimination, especially during and around the last presidential election cycle, has had on the mental health of Latinxs. A synthesis of 10 research articles described evidence that a heightened anti-immigrant climate has negative and deleterious effects on Latinx mental health, especially those with undocumented status. Latinxs of different backgrounds described an increased sense of uncertainty and fear and more depressive symptoms. Those living in states with stricter anti-immigrant policies reported poorer mental health outcomes when compared with those in states with less strict policies. These findings suggest that the current context of anti-immigrant sentiment in the U.S. might have greater negative effects on the mental health of Latinxs than previously thought. The findings outlined in this review highlight the importance of exploring the impact of discrimination on the lives of Latinxs and other minority populations, especially during the current sociopolitical climate.

Keywords: Latinx, U.S., acculturation, perceived discrimination, mental health

The 2016 presidential election in the U.S. generated a great deal of discussion around several issues that each of the major political parties of the U.S. (i.e. Democrats and Republicans) considered to be most important. One of these issues is the topic of immigration, often within the context of "illegal" or undocumented migrants coming across the U.S. border with Mexico. There were calls to build a barrier wall along the border and enact more strict policies and regulations with regard to immigration; in fact, the chant "Build the Wall!" became a slogan at campaign rallies of one of the candidates and later at the Republican National Convention, at times spontaneously turning into "Kill Them All!" chants (Parker et al., 2016).

The 2016 election cycle and ensuing political climate that depicted immigrants from Latin America as subhuman (Hirschfeld, 2018) has given voice to a rhetoric that disparages Latinxs as well as other cultural/ethnic groups. Latinx immigrants, specifically those from Mexico and Central America, were one of the groups that became a target of criticism, hate speech, and bias by prominent political figures (Vara-Orta, 2018). One of the candidates running for the U.S. presidency, in his running announcement speech, referred to undocumented Mexican immigrants as "rapists" and "criminals" (Kopan, 2016), and later in a presidential debate, used the term "bad hombres" to describe Mexican immigrants, interpreted by many as demeaning (Morno, 2016). These opinions and speeches were broadcasted on most major television networks and shared on many social media platforms, heightening the visibility of these views throughout the country and

the world. The purpose of this study was to explore the relation between acculturation, perceived discrimination, and the mental health of Latinxs within the context of the presidential election of 2016.

Latinx

Latinx is a gender-neutral form of the traditional Latinx/a, which moves beyond the millennial use of Latin@. This term also presupposes intersectionality—in essence, a crossroads that demarcates the process of acculturation and change within and across generations among immigrants from Latin America (Love Ramirez & Blay, 2016). Also, the term is used to challenge power hierarchies within U.S. culture and as a "wink" to a long history of colonialism and conquest that extends beyond our continent. Latinx has become an identifier, especially for newer generations, that seeks to challenge the rigid norm within the Spanish language to apply gender binary form to words; hence, it also provides an alternative that allows for inclusiveness (Love Ramirez & Blay, 2016). Increased immigrant generational growth and diversity language dynamics are pushing for a view of Latinxs that must move away from a single profile or a stereotypical idea of what a Latinx should be (Krogstad, Krogstad et al., 2015). The use of the term Latinx is not devoid of controversy, and many have noted that it is merely a buzzword that fails to explore deeper connotations of the original term within the Spanish language while also violating traditional grammar rules (Scharron-Del Rio & Aja, 2015).

It is important to note that the term Latinx might sometimes be used in a way that includes both immigrants and those born in the U.S. who trace their heritage to Latin American countries; its meaning does not always presuppose that the identified speaks Spanish or even that they were born in another country such as in the case of Puerto Ricans, who are American citizens. Anglo-White Supremacists have gained a voice on social media and other mass media outlets; therefore, a term that seeks inclusiveness while also affirming an identity might be seen as a response and a more comfortable alternative to calls for separation and expressions of otherness (DeGuzmán, 2017). The term originated and is mainly used in the U.S., yet it is slowly gaining acceptance on social media and research platforms around the world (Scharron-Del Rio & Aja, 2015).

The present study sought to expand the current conversation around migration issues by including the term Latinx in its examination of perceived discrimination and acculturation. Latinxs compose a large, complex, and diverse set of highly heterogeneous individuals and represent a wide range of values, cultural markers, and beliefs. The Latinx population is one of the largest and fastest-growing minority groups in the U.S. (Flores, 2017). Mexican Americans, specifically, make up approximately 63% of the Latinx population in the U.S. (Abraído-Lanza et al., 2016). The U.S. Latinx groups, compared to the other ethnically identified groups, present with greater depression, anxiety, and substance abuse rates while at the same time having the least access to mental health treatment (Flores, 2017). Although there is a movement toward understanding the complexities of Latinx experience, a lack of knowledge and cultural understanding still exists in service providers who work within these communities (Abraído-Lanza et al., 2006).

Acculturation

Acculturation refers specifically to the way(s) in which individuals adapt to a new environment and how they do or do not take on the new values and norms of the receiving culture (Abraído-Lanza et al., 2006). This process is not a rigid, passive one but rather involves a dynamic exchange between the

newly arrived individuals and those from the receiving culture. This exchange is understood today to be originated and influenced by broader social factors (Abraído-Lanza et al., 2006). The exchange between the two cultures involves the immigrant's adoption of some of the most basic values of the larger group, while the larger group creates a sort of "opening" to accommodate, adapt, and meet the needs of the newly arrived.

Within acculturation theory, there are two significant ways of understanding how individuals adapt to a new culture: a unidimensional model, in which an individual learns the new culture while losing the native one or vice-versa, and a bi-dimensional model in which the way an individual becomes involved with the new culture is independent of their affiliation to their native culture (Berry, 1980). This model of acculturation differs from a unidimensional view in that in this model, individuals do not simply become part of the new culture but instead might opt for one or more of several strategies to adapt to such culture. Whether or not individuals become assimilated also depends on the dominant culture and its attitudes toward others (Kymlicka, 1995). Attitudes of both immigrants and those of the receiving culture toward the newly arrived are important when examining the ways in which immigrants adapt. Within Berry's model of acculturation strategies, an individual must decide whether it is of value to maintain their own identity and cultural characteristics, and whether they should maintain a relationship with and adopt the values of the larger, dominant society (Berry, 1997).

Among Latinxs in the U.S., the process of acculturation appears to be marked in general by a preference toward biculturalism, especially for younger generations (Coatsworth et al., 2005; Sullivan et al., 2007). This finding suggests that a bi-dimensional model might be most appropriate to explain the changes during acculturation for Latinxs who live in the continental U.S. Biculturalism affords individuals an opportunity to relate to both new and native cultural contexts; however, it also generates pressures to conform to expectations determined by receiving or heritage communities (Schwartz et al., 2006). It would appear that individuals who are most assimilated to the receiving culture might experience the least amount of discrimination; however, a social and political climate that portrays Latinxs and their heritage culture as negative might impact the well-being of these individuals. The contexts of reception that an immigrant faces may play an important role in how that immigrant perceives the attitudes of the new culture, further influencing how the immigrant adjusts and thrives within it. Immigration policies and the racial composition of one's neighborhood are two aspects that contribute to immigrants' perceptions of their receiving context (Alegria, 2009; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008).

Perceived Discrimination

When considering acculturation, Berry and Kalin (1995) posit that certain pre-conditions must be present in society for individuals to integrate into the receiving culture successfully. These include accepting the utility of cultural diversity, low levels of prejudice, and positive mutual attitudes. It follows that individuals might have a harder time adjusting in a society where these pre-conditions are not present. Berry (1980) proposed that when individuals move into a new culture, they adopt one of four acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation, or marginalization. These strategies, Berry explains, can also be adopted as attitudes of the dominant culture; that is, the receiving culture might appear to expect all immigrants to become like those in the dominant culture (assimilationist), be willing to accept and incorporate all groups on their own

terms (integrationist), want to segregate (separate) or marginalize groups who might be perceived as unwanted by the receiving culture. A belief that acculturation is, by itself, a distressing process arises from a lack of understanding of other confounding variables such as the effects of perceived discrimination. Several studies have found that perceived discrimination might have more of an impact on the way an individual adjusts to a new culture than acculturation itself (Beiser & Hou, 2006; Gee et al., 2006; Malcarne et al., 2006; Padilla, 1980). Past acculturation research has been inconclusive as to whether greater cultural assimilation leads to less or more perceived discrimination (Aguirre et al., 1989; Floyd & Gramann, 1995; Portes, 1984). These findings highlight the complexity of the acculturation process and its mechanisms.

While it might be difficult to assess how cultural attitudes toward immigrants affect an immigrant's adaptation to the new culture, the immigrant's level of perceived discrimination might be a way of better understanding these processes. Phinney et al. (1998) identified perceived discrimination as an important factor in how immigrants adapt to a new culture. They argued that research related to acculturation should include independent measures of perceived discrimination. Members of stigmatized groups can be negatively affected by many barriers presented in a society that expresses these negative views (Vega et al., 1995). Individuals who self-identify as "Hispanic" have reported perceived discrimination levels similar to those reported by African Americans and higher than White (non-Hispanic) participants (Fisher et al., 2000). Perceived discrimination is one of the stressors associated with an individual's racial/ethnic identity that is not unique to the acculturative process. Members of stigmatized groups also report higher levels of perceived discrimination.

In addition to perceived discrimination, Latinxs who move to the U. S. mainland also experience other stressors. These include separation from family and emotional effects precipitated by their migration's physical and social circumstances (Bostean & Gillespie, 2018). These conditions vary among migrants; however, perceived discrimination appears to have a seminal role in determining acculturation in light of other stress factors.

Past research has not always distinguished between perceived or real discrimination, based on discriminatory events, perhaps because of the difficulties inherent in establishing a mechanism by which this occurs. Nevertheless, there is a difference between discrimination and an immigrant's level of perceived discrimination; the former points to measurable events while the latter deals with an interpretation of the event (Floyd & Gramann, 1995). The adverse effects of this acculturative stressor are experienced regardless of this distinction.

When facing discrimination, migrants can internalize negative perceptions about their ethnic group (Schwartz et al., 2014). Perceived discrimination was shown to be associated with aggression, sadness, anxiety, and decreased self-esteem (Lee & Ahn, 2011; Verkuyten, 1998). Finch et al. (2000) found that perceived discrimination stress predicted unique variance in depression levels when demographic factors, acculturation, and socioeconomic status were included in the analysis. Previous research has also implied that students exposed to discrimination based on race or ethnicity are more likely to experience lower self-esteem and lower academic achievement and motivation (Wong et al., 2003). Linked to the experience of perceived discrimination is the concept of internalized oppression/discrimination. In a sample of minority Latinx individuals, internalized oppressions were associ-

ated with psychological distress (Velez et al., 2015). While perceived discrimination might help explain the discriminatory experience of Latinxs who move to the U.S., internalized oppression further develops this understanding by describing how these individuals evaluate their ethnic minority group.

The Present Study

The aforementioned evidence underscores the importance of examining Latinxs' acculturation within the current sociopolitical context. Dialogue by Donald Trump and his administration around Latinxs, specifically Mexican and Central American immigrants, often depicts them as dangerous criminals or "animals" (Hirschfeld, 2018) who threaten the livelihood of well-meaning Americans (Peters, 2018). This type of rhetoric might separate and marginalize these groups. The impact of this rhetoric on the livelihood of Latinxs, especially those who are most marginalized, such as undocumented migrants, is a topic that demands further research. Furthermore, Latinxs' mental health and the adjustment of Latinx migrants to the U.S. culture is a topic that warrants in-depth analysis. Our systematic review of the literature summarizes and synthesizes the existing literature surrounding the relationship between Latinxs' acculturation, perceived discrimination, and mental health within the context of the U.S. presidential election of 2016. We aimed to identify research studies that explored acculturation and perceived

discrimination, emphasizing the impact of this relationship on Latinx mental health. While these are two very unique processes, they both contribute to some level of stress that can be detrimental to the individual. While acculturation is a process of adaptation for many Latinx migrants, perceived discrimination may be a concept experienced by the larger Latinx population in a sociopolitical climate that disparages individuals because of their racial or ethnic identities. Distinct analysis of acculturation and perceived discrimination may help researchers and practitioners better understand the impact of the current sociopolitical context on Latinx mental health. This literature review sets a precedent for future inquiries into the process of acculturation and the impact of the context of reception among the general population of Latinxs who move to the U.S. mainland. By acknowledging the changing nature of dominant national attitudes toward migrants, the study draws from current research models that suggest that acculturation is a complex, multidimensional process that impacts many aspects of the human experience.

Method

A systematic review of peer-reviewed articles was conducted under an *a priori* established search criterion on the Penn State Library's online search database. The search terms were acculturation and perceived discrimination combined with (1) Trump AND Latin* and (2) Post-Election AND Latin*. Articles were included if they met the following criteria: were available as full text from the university library service; were published on or after January of 2017; focused on the U.S. Latinx population or included data about this population; focused on acculturation and perceived discrimination; described effects on mental health.

The purpose of this review was to understand the impact that perceived discrimination had on acculturation and the mental health of Latinxs within the framework of the 2016 U.S. presidential election. Abstracts were examined for inclusion when they contained the above-referenced keywords. Any article that did not focus or include specific data on Latinx individuals were excluded from the current review. Additionally, articles that did not discuss the

impact of acculturation and perceived discrimination on Latinx mental health or were published before the preset date were excluded. Reference sections were examined for any other articles that may also have met the inclusion criteria. Descriptive information was extracted from each selected article, including the research design, sample characteristics, and study details (mental health measures and main findings; see Table 1).

Results

The two literature searches (1 and 2) generated a total of 255 results, from which 15 articles were selected for in-depth review. Of those 15, 10 were included in this review. The remaining 5 were excluded because they either did not focus on Latinx populations or did not include mental health or well-being measures. Of the 10 studies included in this review, four used quantitative methods, two used mixed-methods, and four used qualitative methods. Six of the studies used interviews as the main form of gathering data and information from participants. Four of the studies used quantitative methods and employed existing datasets. The datasets in two of these studies were created during the U.S. presidential election cycle of 2016. The remaining two studies were included because of the relevance of the information presented, and how they explored the research variables within the context of the 2016 election cycle.

Study Characteristics

While most studies focused on Latinx living in the U.S., not all study authors agreed on what a Latinx definition should be. The definition of Latinx varied from being of Latinx background to having migrated to the U.S. from a Latin country to the most simplistic and perhaps most controversial definition, speaking Spanish. Five of the studies included Latinxs who were undocumented and mostly of Mexican or Central American origin. Only one study focused on undocumented female immigrants, and one focused on Latinx men who spoke primarily Spanish as their native language. Participants' age varied greatly from elementary school children of Latinx background, college-age Latinx individuals who were covered under the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Act (DACA), to unknown individuals of uncertain age who spoke Spanish and conducted searches online. Of note here: not all studies included migrants exclusively, but rather a wider array of Latinxs who had either migrated to the U.S. themselves or whose parents or grandparents had come to the U.S. from a Latin country. While this review intended to focus on migrants, the selected studies were still included because of the relevance of their topic to the theme of this review and because they demonstrated that Latinx is an expanded, inclusive definition of Latin migrant.

Measures of Acculturation and Perceived Discrimination

Only one of the studies included in this review measured acculturation directly; all others either mentioned the process of acculturation or referred to perceived or actual discrimination as a form of acculturative stress. As previously indicated, the context of reception plays a key role in determining how individuals, specifically immigrants, acculturate in their new country. The daily stress that individuals experience as they adapt to the new culture can affect how they access key services such as medical and mental health care, legal representation, or social services (García, 2018; Gomez & Pérez Huber, 2019; Mallet & García Bedolla, 2019).

Eight studies described a heightened sense of fear through self-reports of perceived discrimination or actual, day-to-day microaggressions; this, in turn, generates a sense of hyper-awareness that disrupts

many aspects of the daily lives of immigrants and Latinxs in general (Gomez & Pérez Huber, 2019; Rodriguez et al., 2018). Two of the major stressors affecting the health of immigrants in the U.S. are racism and discrimination (Ayon, 2015). Ethnic discrimination, and ensuing microaggressions, can become an acute stressor that activates physiological responses and may have deleterious effects on the mental health of immigrants and minorities (Clark et al., 1999). Across all studies that explored perceived discrimination, or in its most specific form, microaggressions, participants reported an increase in racist or discriminatory events or situations during the 2016 election cycle. In at least two of the studies, participants reported these experiences as ongoing, with no specific change reported since the election of 2016 (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2017; Mallet & García Bedolla, 2019).

Methods of Data Collection

While it might be challenging to describe the impact of the 2016 presidential election cycle on the mental health of Latinxs, researchers in these studies have found different ways to assess and quantify some of its effects. Some researchers used interviews to obtain first-hand accounts of the impact of rescinding legal protections for DACA students. Such methods helped various researchers get a more detailed and richer narrative that described what it feels like to live in a state of fear and constant worry. Three of the studies included in this review utilized in-depth interviews as the main method of data gathering. At least three others used first-hand accounts as a complement to quantitative methods of data collection.

In our information age, researchers used a tool as ubiquitous as the internet to quantify the frequency of searches for words related to depression before and after the 2016 election (Krupenkin et al., 2019). Thus, internet signatures helped researchers conceptualize, or at least approximate, some understanding of the mental health needs of Spanish-speaking individuals. Nevertheless, there are inherent challenges present when understanding how entire communities experience fear in response to a sociopolitical climate. Hence, it follows that asking these questions directly to those affected may be one of the most accurate and valuable ways of understanding this topic.

Mental Health and Well-being Outcomes

Krupenkin et al. (2019) looked at data sets of over 1 million Bing users to find out whether searches on mental health-related terms changed in frequency and content before and after the 2016 election. Among the terms used to assess this change in search trends were "depression," "anxiety," "therapy," "stress," "suicide/al," and specific anti-depressant and anti-anxiety medications, as well as their Spanish translations. Spanish searches for these terms were significantly higher after the election than English searches for these terms; this relation was especially significant for the terms "therapy," "depression," "anxiety," "suicide," and anti-depression/anti-anxiety medications (Krupenkin et al., 2019).

In a separate study of immigrant and refugee mental and physical health, Szaflarski and Bauldry (2019) found that among first-generation migrants, of which Latinxs are a big part, an increase in perceived discrimination was associated with a decrease in mental health. For the social component of acculturation, that is, how individuals create new social networks or expand existing ones, there was a negative correlation between discrimination in general and social support (Szaflasrki & Bauldry, 2019). As individuals feel more discriminated against, their social support networks seem to shrink, or at least the

migrant feels as if they do. Within first-generation, undocumented migrants, these effects are evident in their reports of years and sometimes decades without seeing their loved ones in their country of origin. One major consequence of increased policing is family fragmentation, brought about by widespread raids and subsequent deportations (García, 2018). Social support, a protective factor against the deleterious effects of poor mental health, is severely disrupted by the threat of deportation made more urgent by a growing anti-immigrant climate.

Latinxs reported increased feelings of fear and hypervigilance due to increased policing and immigration enforcement (García, 2018; Gomez & Pérez Huber, 2019; Mallet & García Bedolla, 2019). In a period immediately before the presidential election of 2016, an increase in deportations as a result of local and federal collaboration (Secure Communities Program deportations: SComm) was associated with an increase in mental health needs within the same Latinx communities (Cruz Nichols et al., 2019). In fact, living in a state with exclusionary immigration policies was associated with worse mental health outcomes for Latinxs as compared to states with less exclusionary policies; Latinxs living in these states reported a significant increase in psychological distress than non-Latinxs residing in the same states (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2017). This finding was congruent to previous literature, noting that Latinxs in these communities reported increased depressive symptoms and drug use (Mann-Jackson et al., 2018). An increase in feelings of fear, stress, defeat, and distrust in public authorities have also been reported in various Latinx communities (Gomez & Pérez Huber, 2019; Mallet & García Bedolla, 2019; Rodriguez et al., 2018). These feelings are amplified by the spike in discriminatory and racist experiences some Latinxs face, such as being threatened with rape (Gómez & Pérez Huber, 2019) or armed robbery because of one's ethnicity (Mann-Jackson et al., 2018). Such is the reality of many Latinxs living across hundreds of communities in the U.S.

Elementary Latinx students demonstrated ambivalence toward their identity when they favored a toy of a race/ethnicity different from their own, which they saw as more positive than a toy with a similar background as theirs (Nuñez & Meráz García, 2017). These students also perceived a White doll, versus one of Latinx background, as more likely to go to college, be perceived more favorably by teachers, and performing better on tests. The children in this study held high levels of esteem for their gender but not for dolls of their ethnic background (Nuñez & Meráz García, 2017). These findings align with Clark and Clark's (1939), where African American preschool-age children preferred a White doll and attributed more positive qualities to the White doll versus a Black one. DACA students experienced a similar internalized inferiority complex after the rescission announcement by the Trump administration. Researchers reported that these students began to feel that their commentaries on public issues were not valid due to their undocumented status (Gómez & Pérez Huber, 2019; Mallet & García Bedolla, 2019). They became socially isolated and began avoiding public gatherings and social services in their communities (Gómez & Pérez Huber, 2019).

Two of the studies included in this review note the positive effects of living in an anti-immigrant environment. For example, at least two students affected by the ending of DACA reported becoming empowered and more active in their communities (Gomez & Pérez Huber, 2019). Individuals also reported becoming outspoken advocates of immigrant rights and against unfair immigration law enforcement practices (Mallet & García Bedolla, 2019).

Issues Related to Undocumented Migrants

The Latinx groups that appear to be most impacted by ongoing discriminatory remarks, a general distrust of immigrants, and immigration policy developments are undocumented migrants, especially women (Garcia, 2018). One specific stressor that impacts communities of undocumented migrant families is the threat of deportation. The sense t hat at any time law enforcement could process and return one to one's native country acts as an anticipatory stressor (Cruz Nichols et al., 2018). Anticipatory stress can generate fear and anxiety and has negative implications on the mental health of the individuals (Cruz Nichols et al., 2018; Garcia, 2018). These daily stressors can become chronic as they are experienced over a long period of time. Living undocumented in an anti-immigrant climate intensifies the impact of these stressors, as well as the ability of these individuals to live freely and gain access to essential economic and social resources. A group of 30 undocumented Latinx women living in Houston, Texas, reported a sense of loss of control and autonomy and becoming hypervigilant of authorities, at times avoiding leaving their homes for fear of being identified by law enforcement (Garcia, 2018). This fear of public authorities and law enforcement has even more troubling consequences. Women and families who are victims of domestic violence avoid reporting their experiences and risk living in danger with their children (Garcia, 2018; Rodriguez et al., 2018). In addition, many women, especially caregivers, experience role disruption by avoiding going to grocery stores, schools, and family doctors (Garcia, 2018). Researchers found that a group of Latinx men living in North Carolina who experienced unfair treatment by authorities and community members felt this bias was due to immigration status, ethnicity, and native language use (Spanish). This treatment was experienced not only during interactions with law enforcement but also during interactions with local health clinic and grocery store staff and among local service providers (Mann-Jackson et al., 2018).

Deportation threat and deportation itself can have numerous disruptive effects on the lives of undocumented families. Families who face this stressor report a drastic reduction in their social networks, especially because families become fragmented when parents or caregivers are physically removed from the U.S. (Nichols et al., 2018). In addition to this, families also reported experiencing geographic isolation and increased economic uncertainty as they encountered a reduction in job opportunities or exploitative working conditions (Garcia, 2018). The announcement of public policy that reflects a change in legal status can trigger a deportation threat, particularly relevant for those under the DACA program. After a public announcement of rescission of DACA by the Trump administration, individuals covered under the program reported an increase in discriminatory events, as well as social and geographical isolation (Gómez & Pérez Huber, 2019; Mallet & García Bedolla, 2019). One individual experienced increased obstacles to health care and lost her job because of untreated injuries (Mallet & García Bedolla, 2019).

The effect of increased policing, heavy surveillance, and strict immigration rule enforcement extends beyond those undocumented. About 61% of Latinxs report knowing someone who is undocumented, and 36% indicate that they know someone detained or deported (Sanchez et al., 2015). Cruz Nichols et al. (2018) found that individuals who had a personal connection with someone who has been deported were more likely to report increased mental health needs. Seven studies in this review specifically comment and/or examine how specific policies, their

creation, enforcement, or rescinding, affect the lives and well-being of Latinxs. While these findings are salient and consistent, they were not part of the search criteria for this review.

Discussion

This review aimed to explore the relation between Latinxs' perceived discrimination, acculturation, and the effects of living in an increasing anti-immigrant climate on their mental health. Across all ten studies included in this review, the authors noted, in various degrees, the negative effects of perceived and actual discrimination, racist-nativist views, and microaggressions on the mental health of Latinxs.

One way in which researchers assessed this impact was by noticing the increase in mental health-related searches before and after the 2016 presidential election. There was a significantly large increase in the Spanish words for "suicide," "depression," "anxiety," among others, after the 2016 presidential election (Krupenkin et al., 2019). Increased mental health needs were superior among communities of Latinxs who lived in states with more exclusionary immigration policies. As those interviewed in these studies reported, anti-immigrant policies appeared to have the highest impact on their mental health and well-being. From experiences of fear, distrust in authorities, and avoidance of public spaces, to feelings of sadness and anxiety, the adverse effects of these policies and discriminatory encounters are multiple and complex.

A growing anti-immigrant climate that disparages entire groups and communities within the U.S. might have more negative effects than previously thought. Recent policy change seeks to reduce and limit immigrants' rights and increases in immigration law enforcement, contribute to a sense of uncertainty and fear among many Latinxs.

The context of reception has many ways of "communicating" to immigrants and individuals from various minority communities how they will be perceived. Messages disseminate through mainstream media, public announcements, or general day-to-day interactions. One other meaningful way to influence reception context is by enacting and enforcing laws, contouring public policies, and issuing memorandums. It is important to note that immigration policies do not exist in a vacuum, but rather they become entangled as part of the national discourse around immigrants and their contribution, or lack of, to the national identity and U.S. society in general. Gomez and Pérez Huber (2019) use the conceptual framework, racist nativism to inform current beliefs about Latinx immigrants. Through this lens, Latinxs threaten the national identity and the welfare of those perceived as "native" or those commonly referred to as White. The prevailing anti-immigrant climate did not see its birth during the 2016 presidential election. However, there is a growing national discourse around topics such as immigration policies, microaggressions, and discrimination. The development and enforcement of anti-immigrant public policies make it more difficult for Latinxs to live and be well, mentally, and physically. Parallel with the rise in discriminatory policies, Latinx negative portrayal in public media has also increased. In turn, this generates additional psychological distress that could persist a long time after being exposed. In conjunction with negative public interactions and daily microagg-ressions, this type of exposure might lead to the internalization of racist-nativist views among Latinxs. One such example was observed in elementary-age children and DACAmented students, who experienced a sense of devaluing of their identity and opinions (Núñez & Meráz García, 2017).

It appears that an anti-immigrant climate might be shifting the conversation from acculturation to specific aspects of acculturative stress that more directly shape how immigrants thrive in the U.S.. The negative effects of perceived discrimination and discrimination presented in this review emphasize the urgency to explore this topic. In addition, specific policies emanating from the anti-immigrant sentiment severely disrupt the lives of Latinx individuals, such as the case of DACAmented college students (Gomez & Pérez Huber, 2019; Mallet & García Bedolla, 2019). One population most affected by the growing anti-immigrant climate is undocumented migrants, especially women (see Table 1). This community experienced additional challenges to their daily lives including geographical and social isolation. The effect of adverse physical and social conditions becomes replicated by increased policing, leading to family fragmentation due to deportations and imposed barriers to basic family activities. It is important to note that an increase in anti-immigrant policies and law enforcement affects not only immigrants. Researchers have found a decrease in the health of all Latinx individuals following raids by immigration enforcement (Novak et al., 2017), and the negative effects of deportation are felt by those who have personal connections with the deported, regardless of how long they have been in the U.S. (Ayón et al., 2017).

Limitations

While this review aimed to explore acculturation and perceived discrimination as they relate to the mental health of Latinxs during the presidential election of 2016, our review was limited because only one of the studies included here used a measure of acculturation. Instead, researchers favored a focus on discrimination, which appears to have the most damaging effects on the mental health of Latinxs. Context of reception was identified as a primary factor impacting migrant acculturation. An increased investigative emphasis is necessary to understand how context and popular attitudes impact immigrants.

One other limitation of this review is that the studies selected for inclusion used a predominance of qualitative research methods. Most studies used in-depth interviews as the primary data-gathering method. Qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews might be essential in describing first-hand accounts of discrimination and the effects these experiences have on Latinxs. However, other effects on mental health were difficult to measure, such as perceived racist-nativist encounters, the impact of social and geographical isolation, and the daily stresses of living under the threat of deportation.

A third major limitation and one that requires special mention is the ability of this review to conclude causality. None of the studies included here establish a direct causal link between the anti-immigrant context of the 2016 presidential election and poor mental health outcomes in Latinx communities. Other variables are at play in this relationship, and the topics covered here are complex and multidimensional. While some of the studies included specific variable measures, others attempted to describe the participants' experience more generally. Given the diversity of Latinxs represented in this review and the paucity of studies, it is challenging to generalize the results to the entire Latinx population.

Future Directions

The use of Latinx Critical Race theory (Gómez & Pérez Huber, 2019) helped researchers capture and describe the experience of living under a political and social climate that disparages and criticizes entire groups of people. Further inquiries should continue using this framework and others such as the

Stress Process Model (García, 2018) to conceptualize and capture Latinx experiences under the Trump administration. These models help to expand our understanding of Latinidad beyond traditional and often stereotypical forms. As presented in this review, Latinxs of all backgrounds are experiencing increased mental health needs during and after the presidential election cycle of 2016. These individuals are not only migrants but the children of these migrants, and second, third, or even fourth generation Latinxs. As shown in one study, Action Research models present an innovative and effective way of capturing the stories of individuals who are usually not included in traditional research (Rodriguez et al., 2018). Such models might be especially effective when used in studies that include Latinx communities who live in semi-segregated urban environments and farming communities of undocumented migrants. These individuals might be less likely to respond to traditional advertisements for research or open the door to strangers. Therefore, researchers must partner with local leaders and service providers to establish a rapport and obtain a richer and more nuanced understanding of migrants' lives and experiences.

The anti-immigrant rhetoric presented and augmented during the election cycle of 2016 negatively impacted Latinxs' mental health and daily living. This effect is most prominent in places where anti-immigrant sentiment translates into heightened law enforcement tactics and local, state, and federal policies, directives, and laws. The negative mental health impacts presented in this review highlight the urgency with which researchers must continue exploring, analyzing, and documenting the experiences of millions of Latinxs living in the U.S.. To do this, researchers may need to depart from their usual modus operandi. This departure may include partnering with local community leaders and social workers, documenting personal accounts, and recording in-depth interviews to enrich the collected data. Personal accounts often speak of fear, sadness, and despair. They contain words that resonate strongly among policymakers and ultimately help bend the often named "arc of history" toward a more just country for everyone.

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Table 1

Summary of Studies Included in this Review

Author and Year	Aim	Design	Characteristics of the Sample	MH Outcome Measures	Heightened Sense of Fear Findings	Relevant Findings
Cruz Nichols et al. (2018)	Explore relation between county-level deportations and mental health as well as personal connection with someone who has been deported, perceptions of racialized policing and health outcomes.	Quantitative [Latinx National Health and Immigration Survey (LNHIS), ICE, & SComm deportation data.]	Latinxs living in the U.S. during and post 2016 election. (N=1005)	Self-reported MH needs; Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey (CMPS)	Increase in hypervigilance around law enforcement and immigration police.	Positive association between SComm deportations and MH needs (period immediately pre-election). Positive association of a personal connection with someone who has been deported and MH needs.
García (2018)	Explore the impact that a threat of deportation has on the stressors faced by undocumented women, as well as whether it intensifies access to resources (physical and social) in an anti-immigrant climate.	Qualitative (Interviews)	Undocumented Mexican immigrant women living in Houston, Texas. (N=30)	Thematic identification in interviews and subsequent focused coding	Increased sense of fear reported in response to the threat of deportation.	Participants actively avoided authorities which limited their access to resources. Family fragmentation and decrease of social relationships. Loss of control and autonomy. Feelings of fear, sadness, and hyper-vigilant mentality.

Gomez & Pérez Huber (2019)	Explore Latinx DACAmented college students' experiences with racist nativist microaggressions within and beyond campus.	Qualitative [In-depth interviews (*Testimonios*)]	Latinx college students who obtained legal documentation under DACA program who lived in the U.S. during fall of 2016 (N=10)	Thematic identification based on LatCrit (Latinx Critical Race Theory) model	Fear for one's safety and increased sense of fear reported by participants.	Experiences of racist nativist microaggressions throughout their lifetimes. Increased use of caution for self-disclosure in public settings. Increased sense of fear, anger, avoidance, and frustration. Internalization of racist nativist discourse. Fear of law enforcement. Hyper vigilant/ awareness mentality. Increased sense of empowerment for telling own's story.
Hatzenbuehler et al. (2017)	Evaluate associations between state-level policies and adverse mental health outcomes among Latinxs.	Quantitative [Data from Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS)] (2012 dataset)	Latinxs living in 31 states of the U.S. in 2012.	(BRFSS) -mental health question of number of poor mental health days; K6 (six-item indicat-Lor of non-specific psychological distress)	Reported psychological distress associated with a sense of constricted opportunities and exclusionary immigration policies.	Living in a state with more exclusionary immigration policies is associated with worse mental health outcomes than those living in states with less exclusionary policies. Increased number of poor mental health days for Latinxs who live in states with more exclusionary policies. Strong relationship between state-level public opinion toward immigration and psychological distress for Latinxs as compared with non-Latinxs living in the same states.

Krupenkin et al. (2019)	Examine changes in mental-health-related searches among Democrats and Republicans. Explore shift in searches among Latinxs.	Quantitative (Data of searches by more than 1 million Bing users before and after the election)	Bings users before and after the 2016 election (1 million). Compared to 300,000 users who answered partisanship question on MSN.com. Latinx/Spanish searches: identify those who searched in Spanish at least once, then examined searches both in English and Spanish by those users.	Searches for mental-health-related keywords and their Spanish translation: depression, anxiety, stress, suicide/ suicidal, therapy; as well as specific anti-anxiety and anti-depressant medication searches. (*Control for day of the week, seasonality, age and gender)*	Increased stress and depression related searches online were reported by Spanish speakers.	Spanish-speaking Latinxs had clear, significant, and sustained increase in "depression," "anxiety," and "therapy" searches. Significant increase in searches post-election of Spanish terms for therapy, suicidal, anxiety, suicide, and specific anti-anxiety and anti-depressant medications.
Mallet & García Bedolla (2019)	Examine the effects of the ending of DACA announcement on the health outcomes of Latinx DACA recipients.	Qualitative (In-depth interviews)	Latinx DACA recipients, 18 and older, living in California at the time of the announcement (*N*=43)	Coding for 5 main sections: Socioeconomic characteristics, immigration status, current living conditions, social assistance programs, and experiences in those programs.	Fear of deportation reported as a source of emotional distress and poorer self-perceived health.	Individuals reported feelings of uncertainty, avoidance of services such as medical attention, decrease in size of social networks which led to a growing sense of social isolation. Participants also reported increase on instances of discrimination, and internalization of institutionalized racism. Overall increase in stress levels were also reported.

Mann-Jackson et al. (2018)	Explore Latinx men's experiences of discrimination, violence, and immigration enforcement and their effects on their mental health and well-being.	Mixed methods	Latinx men living in North Carolina and who spoke Spanish (N = 247).	Items measuring perceived health status, drug and alcohol use, and depressive symptoms (Center of Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale). Thematic identification and coding of in-depth interviews.	Participants reported a state of constant worry and heightened awareness as a result of experiences of violent victimization and discrimination.	Being questioned about immigration status was significantly associated with increased odds of drugs use and clinically significant depressive symptoms. Unfair treatment frequently based on immigration status, race, and language. Discrimination impacts the well-being of Latinx men and their families. Experiences of violent victimization as common among Latinx men. Discrimination at work and within police interactions was found to be most common and difficult to address.
Nuñez & Meráz García (2017)	Assess the perceptions of college and race among Latinx elementary school students.	Qualitative/ Mixed Methods (Rendition of the Clark doll experiment and adding college attainment question) (Scene. 1 had two female dolls, one of Latinx and 1 of White background; Scene. 2 had 1 male and 1 female doll, both of Latinx background)	Latinx children in grades 2nd to 5th. (N=35) (14 males and 21 females) Most of the children's parents were first generation Mexican/ Mexican American parents.	Perceptions of self-esteem, race, and success/ college attainment evaluated through questions in the interview for each scenario.		Children selected white doll as "doing better" in school, as well as most liked, and favored by teachers. Majority of children identified with White doll the most, especially males. When both dolls were of Latinx background, female doll was most positively perceived.

Rodriguez et al. (2018)	Explore the effects that current immigration policies have on Latinx families affected by domestic violence.	Qualitative (Participatory Action Research)	Latinx individuals attending the *Caminar Latinx* program related to domestic violence. (*N*=18) (10 adults and 8 youth)	Thematic analysis of interviews.	Heightened sense of fear reported by participants related to the threat of deportation and discrimination.	Most participants reported experiencing discrimination and harassment, and in turn felt a sense of dehumanization and humiliation to the word "illegal." Overall reports of bullying at school and verbal harassment among participants. Decrease in help seeking and overall increase of distrust of authorities and service providers. Experiences of social and economic marginalization were also reported.
Szaflarski & Bauldry (2019)	Examine the effects that perceived discrimination has on immigrant and refugee health and well-being.	Quantitative	Data was collected in two waves between 2001 and 2005. *N*= over 76,000. Over-representation of Latinx individuals in both waves.	Mental component summary of the SF-12v2		Among 1st generation immigrants there was a negative association between perceived discrimination and mental health. No relation found between acculturation level and mental health. Among refugees there was a negative association between perceived discrimination and social support.

Note. Abbreviations used: MH= mental health; SComm: (Secure Communities Program) A system used by immigration law enforcement that generates a database where local community governments and agencies can report undocumented immigrants (real or suspected).

Stress, Academic Motivation, and Resilience Among International and Domestic Graduate Students During COVID-19

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Abstract

The coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic is a global threat to mental health. University students, both domestic and international, were, and continue to be, adversely impacted by several pandemic-related factors. To quantify the impact of the pandemic on students' mental health to date, and to explore whether domestic and international students were similarly impacted, the present study investigated perceived stress, academic motivation, and resilience among Turkish domestic (n = 56) and international (n = 50) graduate students studying in the United States in April 2020. Data were collected via an online survey. International and female students were expected to report higher perceived stress levels than their counterparts. Overall, higher perceived stress was expected to correlate with lower academic motivation and resilience, and higher academic motivation was expected to correlate with higher resilience. While female students reported higher perceived stress levels than male students as predicted, no significant difference was observed between domestic and international students. A negative correlation between perceived stress and academic motivation was observed among domestic students only, but there was a significant negative correlation between perceived stress and resilience for both domestic and international students as predicted. Finally, a positive correlation between academic motivation and resilience was observed among international students only. Unexpected differences between domestic and international students are discussed in the context of the need for tailored support for Turkish graduate students studying domestically and in the U.S.

Keywords: COVID-19, mental health, perceived stress, academic motivation, resilience, international graduate students

The World Health Organization (WHO) declared the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak a global pandemic on March 11, 2020. The impact on higher education was swift and ongoing. Countries closed their borders to international travelers to mitigate the spread of COVID-19 (Salcedo & Cherelus, 2020), including to incoming international students. Universities discouraged international students from traveling, while simultaneously closing on-campus accommodation, leaving many students without secure housing in a foreign country. Students and educators alike were forced to adapt with limited notice to a new instruction style when universities closed campuses and shifted to entirely online instruction. Students without secure Internet or computer access and programs reliant on in-person instruction suffered. Uncertainty remains as to when (or if) academia will return to traditional instruction. The impact of these and other consequences of COVID-19 have adversely impacted the mental health of university students globally.

Anxiety and a State of Limbo

Extant literature contains evidence that ambiguities associated with public health crises and academia's response to these crises have led to an increased sense of uncertainty, a state of limbo, among university students (Trout & Alsandor, 2020). Trout and Alsandor (2020) reflected on graduate students' monetary, health, and psychological challenges during the pandemic and reported students' feelings related to the outbreak. For example, one international student said, "I am really worried about the

situation we are in today (the pandemic) and feel homesick" (p. 153).

A common finding among literature related to the effects of COVID-19 is that the pandemic led to increased anxiety among graduate students. For example, in their study of 7000 Chinese medical students, Cao et al. (2020) found that one-third of their sample was anxious, experiencing mild to moderate anxiety. Moreover, their anxiety increased with economic difficulties, changes in daily routine, and academic delays related to the pandemic. One percent of participants reported severe anxiety and social support decreased anxiety at all levels of symptom severity. Furthermore, in a study conducted during the Middle East Respiratory Syndrome CoronaVirus (MERS-CoV) epidemic, Al-Rabiaah & Temsah (2020) reported that 25% of their sample of 200 medical students experienced mild to moderate anxiety during the MERS-CoV outbreak.

Psychological Impact

A survey conducted during the initial stage of the COVID-19 outbreak reported that the psychological impact of COVID-19 among the majority of the Chinese student population surveyed was moderate to severe (Wang et al., 2020). Increased risk of COVID-19-related stress, anxiety, and depression was found to be related to specific risk factors, such as sex (female students are at higher risk of stress than male students), student status, distinct physical symptoms, and poor perceived health status. The unpredictable characteristics of COVID-19, uncertainty about the mode of transmission, the risk of infection, and fear of quarantine and containment were among other factors reported to contribute to increased stress among adult populations (Xu & Kraemer, 2020). In addition, adults have reported experiencing a heightened fear of death and feelings of loneliness as a result of the pandemic (Xiang et al., 2020).

Students, in particular, may experience additional stressors such as having acquaintances infected by COVID-19, financial instability, daily habit change, delays in academic activities, and increased risk of anxiety (Cao et al., 2020). In contrast, some important protective factors against stressors include living in urban areas, family income stability, living with parents, and social support (Cao et al., 2020).

Certain COVID-19 stressors are unique to international students. Risk factors for international students include lack of social support, financial difficulties, limited English fluency, social disconnectedness, and adaptation problems in the United States (Yeh & Inose, 2003). These students may also feel a sense of loss and loneliness when they leave their families and friends (Patron, 2014). Due to the psychological burden of COVID-19 and acculturative stress that international students experience, they may be overwhelmed and at risk of developing stress-related disorders (Newsome & Cooper, 2016).

Perceived Stress

Perceived stress is a major risk factor for poor mental health (Bovier et al., 2004). Among Turkish university students, Arslan et al. (2020) reported the prevalence of perceived stress during the COVID-19 pandemic. They found that female students demonstrated higher stress levels than males and that women suffered more stress than men during the initial phase of COVID-19.

International Turkish students studying in the United States perceived acculturative stress similar to other international students (Duru & Poyrazli, 2007). Marital status, English language competency, social connectedness, adjustment difficulties, neuroticism, and openness to experience were some

predictors of acculturative stress among Turkish international students in the U.S. (Duru & Poyrazli, 2007). For instance, younger Turkish students and those with higher English proficiency showed better adjustment to the new educational environment in the U.S. (Poyrazli et al., 2001). Additionally, graduate student activities such as research, teaching, assistantships, dissertation work, and advising may lead to higher perceived stress levels among international students (Fried et al., 2019).

Academic Motivation

Research has demonstrated that academic motivation in higher education relies on several factors, including adaptation to institutional culture consistent with shared values, positive relationships enhancing intrinsic motivation, social integration with the education community, and learning environment (Nukpe, 2012). Research also implies that students may become demotivated by complex administrative processes such as challenges with course registration, assessment deferrals, and laborious payment methods (Nukpe, 2012). Deci et al. (1991) suggested that psychological factors affect international students more than domestic students. They claim that students' psychological needs must be met to develop self-determination and facilitate intrinsic motivation for academic pursuits.

People are motivated either by external rewards, including prizes, approval, and grades, known as extrinsic motivations or by internal sources, called intrinsic motivations (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Intrinsic motivation involves engaging in activities for their inherent rewards, such as interest or enjoyment (Ryan & Deci, 2000). An investigation conducted by Chue and Nie (2016) reported that international students had higher intrinsic motivation for academic achievement than domestic students. Yet, they also observed that international students' intrinsic motivation could cause distress in the presence of external stressors. Therefore the stressors of COVID-19 may have jeopardized international students' intrinsic academic motivation. The reason for their higher intrinsic motivation might be that international students tend to have specific personal and professional goals (Li & Bray, 2007).

Atkinson's achievement theory is relevant to the experience of international students, as it supports the tendency to achieve success in achievement-oriented situations and avoidance of failure under the threat of failure (Atkinson, 1964). Motivation drives actions to meet a certain standard of excellence perceived by the individual or society. The combination of the greater need for success and avoiding failure, expectancy of success, and the incentive value of success, determines the strength of achievement behavior (Atkinson, 1964). High anxiety from the fear of failure also positively influences academic achievement in high-ability students. Chacko and Huba (1991) found that academic success was positively correlated with high academic ability, decreased life stress, and high intrinsic motivation. Thus, in the presence of increased life stress, academic success becomes more closely linked to high intrinsic motivation.

Resilience

A consensual understanding of resilience refers to a capacity to meet adversity without diminishing positive outcomes or developing negative outcomes. Past studies demonstrated the role of resilience to be positively associated with students' well-being (Lin et.al., 2019). Resilience was also associated with fewer anxiety symptoms and lower levels of psychological distress in university students (Lin et al., 2019). Another investigation of college students showed that higher levels of resilience predicted lower levels of unwellness (Wu et al., 2020). Further

research revealed that, among female college students, resilience and stress were positively correlated (Ahmed & Julius, 2015). Social support can protect against low resilience in an environment of academic stress (Wilks, 2008). Hartley (2011) showed that intrapersonal resilience factors contributed to GPA, academic achievement, and mental health. Resilience helps students cope with stress, preserve their mental health, and supports academic achievement. Additionally, resilience contributes to successful adjustment among international graduate students (Wang, 2008). Wang's (2008) study provided evidence for the effect of resilience on one's ability to cope with change and found that resilience characteristics can be enhanced and can differ depending on country of origin.

The Present Study

The present study focused on stress, academic motivation, and resilience among international graduate students during the COVID-19 pandemic, with a sample of Turkish graduate students studying in Turkey and in the U.S. Based on the review of the literature, the following hypotheses were generated:

- International students would report higher perceived stress than domestic students;
- Female students would report higher perceived stress than male students;
- Higher perceived stress would be associated with lower academic motivation among both international and domestic students;
- Perceived stress would be negatively correlated with resilience among both international and domestic students; and
- Both international and domestic students reporting higher academic motivation will also report higher resilience.

Method

Participants

Out of 243 participants who completed the online survey, 137 were excluded due to missing data. One hundred and six participants were included in the analysis. The final sample consisted of international Turkish graduate students (n = 56) studying in the U.S. and domestic Turkish graduate students (n = 50) studying in Turkey. Graduate students included both masters and doctoral degree students. Participants' age ranged from 24 to 37 (M age = 28 years). The sample was composed of 34 males (36%) and 72 females (64%).

Procedure

Participants were recruited online via personal networks, social media announcements, e-mails, WhatsApp, and text messages using snowball sampling. Data were collected in April 2020, approximately one month after the WHO declared the COVID-19 outbreak a global pandemic. All respondents gave informed consent. The survey was approximately 10-15 minutes in length. Responses were collected via Qualtrics software registered to the author's university.

Measures

Sociodemographic Information

Participants completed an online questionnaire about their age, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, degree status, English fluency, length of stay in the U.S., major, GPA, marital status, annual income, infected acquaintance, and method of preventing COVID-19 (see Table 1).

Perceived Stress

The Perceived Stress Scale-10 (PSS-10; Cohen & Williamson, 1988) is a self-report questionnaire that assesses one's level of perceived stress. It consists of 10 items scored on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (*never*) to 4 (*very often*). Positively worded items

were reverse-scored, then ratings were summed. The inventory consists of six negative items and four positive items. The PSS-10 has been found to have high reliability and validity (Lee, 2012).

Respondents' scores on the PSS can range from 0 to 40. Higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived stress. Scores are categorized as low stress (0-13), moderate stress (14-26), or high stress (27-40). In this study, the average perceived stress level was moderate across international students ($M = 19.89$, $SD = 6.18$) and domestic students ($M = 21.12$, $SD = 5.03$).

Table 1

Participants' Sociodemographic Information

		n	%
Student status	International	56	52.8
	Domestic	50	47.2
Degree status	Masters	34	35.8
	Doctoral	72	64.2
Gender	Male	34	32.1
	Female	72	67.9
Marital status	Married	49	46.2
	In a relationship	9	8.5
	Single	48	45.3
Parents went to college	Neither	34	32.1
	Mother	2	1.9
	Father	32	30.2
	Both	38	35.8
Income	Less than $10,000	32	30.2
	$10,000 to $14,999	10	9.4
	$15,000 to $19,999	13	12.3
	$20,000 to $24,999	14	13.2
	More than $25,000	37	34.9
Live with family member	No	38	35.8
	With parents/siblings	25	23.6
	With spouse	42	39.6
	Yes (other)	1	.9

English fluency	Beginner	3	2.8
	Intermediate	12	11.3
	Advanced	38	35.8
	Fluent	53	50.0
Infected by COVID-19	Yes	1	.9
	No	105	99.1
Infected family member	Yes	8	7.5
	No	98	92.5
Precautions	No precautions	1	.9
	Only social distancing	28	26.4
	Self-isolation	74	69.8
	Mandatory quarantine	3	2.8
Habits changed	Yes	97	91.5
	No	9	8.5

Academic Motivation

The Achievement Motives Scale-Revised (AMS-R; Lang et al., 2006) was used to assess academic motivation in participants based on hope of success and fear of failure. The instrument includes 10 items that are rated on a 4-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). The total score can range from 4 to 40. The revised 10-item scale has demonstrated sufficient criterion validity with respect to typical criteria of achievement-related behavior. Internal consistency (Cronbach's α) was greater than .70 (Lang & Fries, 2006). In this study, the average achievement motivation score was 21.45 (*SD* = 4.004) among international students and 21.86 (*SD* = 4.121) among domestic students.

Resilience

The Resilience Appraisals Scale (RAS; Johnson et al., 2010a) is a 12-item self-report questionnaire that measures resilience in young and senior adults by assessing their appraisals of their ability to cope with emotions, solve problems, and access social support. Participants rate the extent to which they agree with each statement using a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). RAS is an easy-to-use questionnaire with acceptable established psychometric properties (Johnson et al., 2010). The total score can range from 5 to 60, with higher scores indicating higher levels of resilience.

Data Analysis

Descriptive and inferential statistics were used to analyze data. Frequencies were used to describe the sociodemographic characteristics of participants (see Table 1). Independent *t*-tests were conducted to compare perceived stress between international and domestic students and between female and male students. All *t*-tests were two-tailed, with a significance level set at .05. Bivariate correlation (Pearson's correlation) was conducted to measure the strength and the direction of the relationship between perceived stress, academic motivation, and resilience.

Statistical analyses were performed using SPSS Statistics 21.0 (IBM SPSS Statistics, New York, United States).

Results

A total of 243 questionnaires were returned, of which 106 were valid (i.e., contained complete data). Hypothesis 1 predicted that international students would report significantly higher perceived stress than domestic students. An independent *t*-test revealed that perceived stress levels did not differ between international and domestic students as predicted (M_{diff} = -1.22), $t(104) = 1.11$, $p = .269$, $d = .35$, 95% CI [-3.41, 0.96]. In support of Hypothesis 2, an independent-samples *t*-test revealed that female students reported significantly higher perceived stress than male students (M_{diff} = -3.72), $t(104) = 3.30$, $p = .001$, $d = .70$, 95% CI [-5.96, 1.48].

Hypothesis 3 predicted that perceived stress would be negatively correlated with academic motivation for both international and domestic students. Pearson's correlation coefficients were computed to assess the relationship between the two variables for each of the groups (international vs. domestic students). Somewhat contrary to predictions, there was a statistically significant negative correlation between perceived stress and academic motivation for domestic students, but not for international students (see Table 2). Similarly, only partial support was found for Hypothesis 4; perceived stress was significantly negatively correlated with resilience for domestic students, but not for international students (see Table 2). Finally, partial support was found for Hypothesis 5; academic motivation was significantly positively correlated with resilience for international students, but not for domestic students (see Table 2).

Table 2

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients (r) between Perceived Stress (PSS), Academic Motivation (AMS), and Resilience (RAS) among Domestic and International Students

		AMS	RAS
International Students (n = 56)	PSS	-.035	-.201
	AMS	-	.357**
Domestic Students (n = 50)	PAS	-.398**	-.330*
	AMS	-	-.035

Note. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$

Discussion

The COVID-19 outbreak has had negative implications for university students globally. While the challenges faced by Turkish students studying in the U.S. were different from those faced by domestic students studying in Turkey, all students reported at least moderate perceived stress during COVID-19. However, contrary to predictions, international and domestic students did not differ significantly in their reported perceived stress levels. It is possible that international students had returned to their home country immediately following the outbreak and were receiving regular support from family and friends. Unfortunately, the present study did not require students to report their current location and thus this possibility cannot be explored statistically. However, this explanation is consistent with the results reported by Lai et al. (2020) in their study regarding the mental health impacts of COVID-19 on international university students. As measured by the PSS-10, students who returned to their home countries had lower perceived stress, while those who stayed had higher perceived stress related to personal health and lack of social support. Indeed, Tselebis et al. (2020) and Cao et al. (2020) found associations between high perceived stress and low

family support during COVID-19. It is also possible that participants who were experiencing high perceived stress levels were unable or unwilling to complete the questionnaire. This explanation is consistent with the high dropout rate in the current study; students with low-to-moderate perceived stress may have been over-represented in the current sample.

Women tended to report significantly higher perceived stress levels than men, in harmony with our second hypothesis and with past studies (e.g., Kizhakkeveettil et al., 2017). Higher stress levels among women may be due to increased stressor experiences and perspective differences (Liu, 2020). Higher academic motivation was associated with lower perceived stress among domestic students as expected. However, unexpectedly, there was no relationship between stress and academic motivation among international Turkish students. Despite their perceived stress levels, international Turkish students may have needed to overcome many obstacles and have a higher baseline level of academic motivation in order to study abroad.

A negative association was found between the perceived stress and resilience scores of domestic students during the pandemic. One factor might be that graduate students need high resilience to cope with ongoing academic demands and their stress reduces despite the transition to web-based platforms in higher education. Surprisingly, there was no significant relationship between the two variables for international students. Additional studies are needed to detect the underlying reasons for the non-significant results as there could be several factors. Furthermore, the resiliency scores for international students are slightly higher than for domestic students. Another contributing factor could be that international students may be more resilient because they have dealt with acculturative and academic stress. Higher resiliency may mitigate the strength of the negative correlation between the two variables.

Academic motivation and resilience were positively correlated among international, but not domestic, students. It is possible that higher levels of academic motivation and resilience are necessary for international students to succeed. Moreover, in addition to acculturative stress, psychological and social challenges, hope of success, fear of failure, and uncertainties are some of the risk factors brought about by the outbreak faced by international students, which may have led to higher levels of academic motivation and resilience.

Limitations

The current study did not investigate students' coping strategies or changes in coping strategies during the pandemic. It is possible that the consequences associated with the pandemic created significant obstacles to effective coping, and led to newly acquired adaptive or maladaptive coping strategies. In this way, it is difficult to infer from the results of the current study whether any observed differences or not in perceived stress were influenced by coping. Another important limitation of the current study is the absence of baseline measures of perceived stress, academic motivation, and resilience prior to the pandemic, which would have allowed a more in-depth understanding of the effects of COVID-19 on these variables among Turkish graduate students.

Furthermore, the attrition rate was high in the current study; 137 participants provided insufficient data and were thus removed from the analysis. It is possible that, especially given that participants reported only moderate perceived stress levels, participants with higher perceived stress were unable to complete the study for this reason. In this way, it is

possible that the current sample was biased toward participants with lower levels of perceived stress, and may not accurately reflect the stress levels among Turkish graduate students during the pandemic.

Future Directions

Based on the limitations of this study, future studies should measure perceived stress, academic motivation, and resilience at the end of the pandemic. Future studies should also address the psychological needs of graduate students during and after the pandemic. Future studies should also consider investigating the effects of quarantine on graduate students who were infected with the coronavirus.

Academic motivation is key to mitigating many of the negative effects of COVID-19 based on the results of this study. More resilience in international students and less perceived stress in domestic students protected against the negative effects of the pandemic. Therefore, universities should strive to enhance student motivation, limit their stress, and build their resilience. In addition, universities should consider providing their students access to low-to-no cost counseling services.

Other ways that universities can protect students against many of the negative effects of the pandemic include extending assessment deadlines and shifting in-class exams to take-home exams. Professors should encourage their students to stay connected to their class and cohort through web-based platforms. To alleviate additional financial-related stress, universities could also offer flexible payment plans for tuition and other university fees.

International and domestic graduate students' psychological needs during the pandemic should be addressed appropriately. The results of this study highlighted the need to provide support for graduate students in these extreme and unprecedented circumstances.

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The Craft of Silence

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In "A Search for Silent Signals," White (2021), a senior curatorial assistant at the Whitney Museum, describes Madeline Hollander's Hawaiian journey searching for the silent movement of the chirping crickets, revealing how their silent movement entangles a duality for the species. On the one hand, the silent movement serves as a protective mantle against predators. On the other, it impedes reproduction and is a threat to species survival. This duality is also present when studying silence in the memory of migrant families residing in the United States of America (USA). As researchers at The New School's Trauma and Global Mental Health Lab, we measured silence in the stories of migrant families, understanding it as a potential protective factor of their community from possible external threats. But we also realized silence is a potential danger to the transmission of their story and to the heritage of their culture at large.

Yet, the measurement of this phenomenon was insufficient to comprehend its meaning. As proposed by Liou et al. (2016), silences are a cognitive creative space for making connections and fitting together pieces of the puzzle, a space with "boundless creative possibilities." I found in that void an opportunity to create together with these families, a practice of craft, otherwise referred to as object making, to express and connect these silences beyond their quantification.

To consider silence and its meanings through crafts, I start by describing the Memory and Migration study, completed between 2020 and 2021. Silence was one of the most overarching themes transmitted across generations of families with Ecuadorian heritage. Next, I show how traditional research methods were useful but insufficient to understand the pervasiveness of silence in migrant stories mostly evident in subsequent generations. Finally, this train of thought allowed me to describe how collective craft may be a better means to interpret and express the silences within the migrant story.

The Memory and Migration Study

The Memory and Migration study was part of The New School's Trauma and Global Mental Health Lab. Together with local nonprofits in Queens, New York, and the New York Navy Cadet Corps, we interviewed families of Ecuadorian heritage to understand from a psychological standpoint how migration narratives get passed down through generations (Hirst et al., 2018). Families consisted of two living generations (adult parent and an adolescent) or three living generations (grandparent, adult parent, and adolescent or young adult grandchild). Interviewing the grandparents and adult parents who migrated enabled an exploration of their migration stories while interviewing the younger generation, who for the most part were born in the US, helped elucidate how these stories were shared across generations.

The research was approached through traditional methods of investigation that I found were insufficient to answer the following question: how and why were certain memories shared while others were silenced? Traditionally, words, text, and speech are the preferred means to access and represent (collective) memories (Vinitzky-Seroussi & Teeger, 2010;

Zolberg, 1998; Scott, 1996; Young, 1993; Wagner-Pacifici & Schwartz, 1991). In this research, both participants and researchers heavily relied on words and speech using standardized and self-report questionnaires as well as semi-structured interviews to access memories of their migration story and what younger generations remembered hearing about their family's migration story. But what about the silences, omissions, and exclusions that are still apart of the migrant story and are rarely addressed, analyzed, or talked about? Based on a study by Vinitzky-Seroussi & Teeger (2010) that suggested memory is constructed at the margins of silence, I decided to explore these elements as covert and overt manifestations in order to address the hidden aspects of the migrant story. Overall, it turned out younger generations did not know what older generations had not shared. Still, their silences were also acts of communicating and transmitting memories around migration.

Not Telling - Not Knowing Dynamic

The covert silences were framed as a not telling - not knowing dynamic between family members and were represented through extracts taken from semi-structured interviews. To illustrate: when asked what memories of the migration journey were shared with family members, this is what 37 year-old Adriana[1] (who migrated at age 22) said:

"My children? No. I have not commented on any of this. He knows that I came here…but how it was and all, no, I haven't told him. It is also difficult to say this: 'Mommy came here and had to go through jail and... Because that's the truth."

When the children were asked what they knew about their family's migration story, this is what 11 year-old Tomas[2] (born in the US) said:

"She doesn't usually talk about the past. She really doesn't share any memory. No one asks. I never thought about it."

Likewise, when asked if family's immigration stories helped them overcome current challenges and stress in their life, this is what 12 year-old Mario[3] (born in the US) said:

"I don't know anything about their stories, but if they told me, I believe it would help me be less stressed because I think they had to fight to be here. So I, I think that, like stress and, like, problems that are happening in my life is, like, less worse than that."

These quotes explicitly showed the unawareness of younger generations of their family's migration story. As I discovered this pattern, I felt the urge to measure the overt manifestation of silence in order to understand the structure that underpins the stories and the memories that are not being told.

Physical Silence

The quantification of silence in the interviews allowed me to understand silence as a fundamental element of the migrant story. The overt manifestations were called physical silences, corresponding to the conspicuous spaces longer than one second where there was an absence of words or sounds. They were measured as a percentage of the interview's total duration. Results in younger generations, especially those born in the US, showed that interview duration tended to decrease while silence increased. Thus, the physical silences allowed me to reinforce silence as a structural component of the interview. I then realized how migrants' words and migration stories are often invalidated. Therefore,

1 Name has been changed for confidentiality purposes. Translation by the present author.
2 Name has been changed for confidentiality purposes.
3 Name has been changed for confidentiality purposes.

they may opt not to speak about their experience, or feel pressured to stay quiet. But their lack of words does not mean an absence of experience (Levin, 2013; Benish-Weisman, 2009). On the contrary, experiences and memories in the context of migration are all too often colored by threats and consequences of structural vulnerabilities. These include exposure to complex forms of violence, poverty, dangerous border crossings, increased anti-immigration, punitive legislation, multiple attachment ruptures, and acculturative stressors leading to a higher risk of developing mental health conditions such as depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder (Charlson et al., 2019). Hence, silence might be an indicator of a never-ending cycle of trauma inherited by every new generation of migrants.

Frontline Arts Organization

These intriguing results motivated me to think about other alternatives beyond quantification and analysis that could be used to craft silences in migrant stories and perhaps address emotional wounds. I recognized the alternative methods that I was looking for were not easily found in psychological interventions, which tend to be prescriptive in nature and rely on words, text, and speech. I decided instead to approach the silence of migrant's stories through creative and alternative practices by joining the Frontline Arts organization. In an interview, David Keefe, a graduate of Columbia University's narrative medicine program and president of Frontline Arts asserts that creative encounters are spaces for people to transform, find a personal voice, and more importantly, tell their own stories (Schiff, 2020). Keefe suggests participatory craft, or the act of doing, is a solution that accounts for the silences within people's stories. As he posits, craft is a mediator for social interaction, transformation and connectivity that helps combat a pervasive culture of silence in communities with pronounced trauma, enabling new narratives of cohesion that will naturally strengthen well-being.

Crafting Silence

In 2018 Frontline Arts, in partnership with the Bronx Museum, developed four workshops with migrant communities to make paper and prints from cultural objects, plants native to the Bronx and Mexico, and clothes from Mexican street vendors. Participants shared their experience of migration, reporting that they felt safe telling their stories and expressing their feelings of what it meant to be an immigrant for the first time. Based on the project's success, I have decided to replicate these techniques in my work with migrant families to bring with them personal objects. Collectively, participants will macerate these objects into fibers to create paper. While doing so, they will be encouraged to share their thoughts, memories and emotions and engage in a common language of silence hardly shared but always present. This exchange is a potential space to explore common story themes and more importantly, make connections. Once the paper is ready, participants can modify it with drawings, writings, and prints, related to the topics discussed during the production. As a result, a palimpsest of migrant stories will be shared in an exhibition where participants will have the opportunity to show and explain their work, thoughts, and memories to their families and to the migrant community. This space will serve as the container for those memories and stories rooted in the past. Getting back to Keefe's solution, craft will be an opportunity to tap into the silence, the unspoken within a population whose stories are often colored by trauma.

The Duality of the Chirping Cricket

Overall, traditional methods used in the Memory and Migration study helped me represent silence in

the context of migration. I observed how silences containing the energy of trauma transmit across generations. Results indicated that silence might be a protective factor, yet its pervasive presence may represent a widespread perpetual cycle of trauma. The recognition of silence motivates me to materialize the unspoken in collective craft, the paper-making project.

I expect this encounter and the work produced to be a medium for social and psychological connection, a reservoir for collective awareness of migrant stories. My goal is to overcome the duality of the chirping cricket present in the silence of the migrant stories. Silence is not necessarily a threat to cultural heritage shared between generations; instead, silence can create a new collective space where migrant stories can be shared.

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